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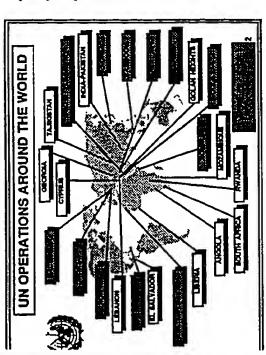
PEACEKEEPING

Rear Admiral Skip Bowman Deputy Director Political-Military Affaira Joint Staff <u>= 1,111</u>

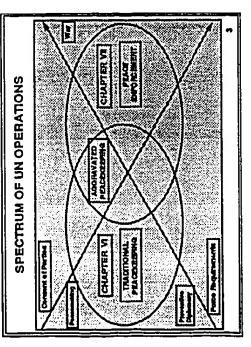
I am Rear Admiral Skip Bowman, Deputy Director for Politico-Military Affairs in J-5 on the Joint Staff.

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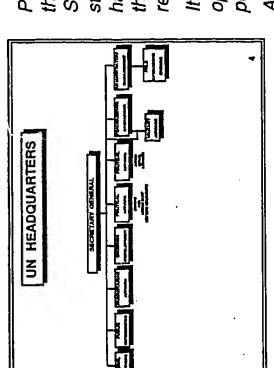
- UN involvement has virtually exploded in the last few years
- 24 operations shown here -- slide needs to be updated almost daily
- Additional stats worth noting:
- During first 44 years, UNSC passed about 1 resolution per month
- Since 1991, it has been averaging 5-7 per month; passed 14 in Jun 93
- •1990: 5 UN operations, about 10,000 troops
- •1993: 24 operations, 80,000 troops
- PK costs have gone from \$800M to almost \$4B in same period; US pays roughly 1/3 of the cost (30.4%)
- •Of these 24 operations, 75,000+ US personnel are involved in 12 of them, either as direct participants or in support.
- We are now dealing with the problems and growing pains of this rapid expansion of UN activity



think we all understand traditional peacekeeping - the peacekeeping that arose during the Cold War, dealt primarily with disputes between states, and evolved a generally accepted set of prerequisites procedures.

I think we also understand the term peace enforcement - operations pursued under the authority of Chapter VII of the UN Charter. The clear examples, of course, are the Gulf War and Korea - although don't believe the term peace enforcement was in use at that time.

Chapter VI peacekeeping in the traditional sense, nor all-out Chapter peacekeeping and large scale peace enforcement. They are neither VII enforcement actions. To be quite honest, I think we are all groping in the fog between traditional peacekeeping and peace The difficult operations are those that fall in between traditional enforcement. We are now calling operations in this area aggravated peacekeeping -The challenge for all of us is to learn how to deal with aggravated peacekeeping, but without the old rules and familiar landmarks. peacekeeping.



states and acknowledging the speed with which the Security Council the new and more numerous peacekeeping operations than the UN that the UN Secretariat has not adapted quickly errough to its new has piled on new responsibilities and operations, the fact remains Perhaps no area is more indicative of the problems in dealing with Secretariat. While acknowledging the responsibilities of member responsibilities.

operations with an organization and concepts designed for traditional It has attempted to undertake new aggravated peacekeeping peacekeeping.

A prime example of the problem is the organization at the UN headquarters.

- Stovepiped organization
- Bureaucratic turf battles
- Unsatisfactory communication between departments.
- Department of Peacekeeping and Department of Humanitarian Affairs have not always coordinated activities.
- Department of Peacekeeping and Department of Political Affairs have not always worked well together.

While some improvements have been made, such as the new DPO organization plan, more is needed.

US PEACEKEEPING POLICY REVIEW

Let me now turn to the review of US policy on peacekeeping. This review

has, in fact been underway for some time and predates the current

Jan 92: UNSC Summit

il 92: UNSYG Boutros-Ghail's Agenda for Peace

Sep 92: President Bush's Address to UNGA

Oct 92: NSD-74

Feb 93: Presidential Directed Review of Peacekeeping

Security Council Summit, January 92

administration.

Head of State, Head of Gov't level; first ever

Post Gulf War / New World Order

Asked UNSYG for report on how to improve peacekeeping

Agenda for Peace, July 1992

Preventive diplomacy

Stand-by forces and Article 43 agreements

Military Staff Committee

Peace enforcement units

Improved financing

Bush Speech to UNGA, Sept 1992, focused on improving peacekeeping

ways to improve peacekeeping. However, NSD-74 was never implemented NSD-74 incorporated proposals in Bush speech, and focused on practical

In February 1993, the Clinton Administration set aside NSD-74 and began with clean slate, bottom-up review of US policies towards UN. The policy review has been extensive and has sparked considerable debate, as you may have been able to follow in news reports.

PROPOSALS TO STRENGTHEN THE UN

- Evaluate new operations carefully
- · Prescribe clear mandates
- · Enhance Department of Peace Operations
- · Improve logistics support
- · Upgrade communications capability
- · Improve public affairs capability
- Training program

US initiatives to improve UN peacekeeping include those listed here.

in some detail in a peacekeeping Contact Group of which your nation Most of these proposals have already been presented or discussed is a member.

In meetings with UN USYG for Peacekeeping, Kofi Annan, Contact Group members have exchanged views on how the UN could improve peacekeeping.

ADJUSTING US SUPPORT FOR THE UN

- Organizational changes
- Legislative changes
- Fleid assessments
- · Training
- Monetary support
- · Command and control

In addition to recommending improvement in the UN, our policy review clearly demonstrated that we ourselves must adapt to be able to more effectively support UN peacekeeping. To address this we are undertaking a wide range of actions to improve our peacekeeping. The areas in which we are making improvement include: ability to interact with and to improve our ability to support UN

Organization:

- State: new peacekeeping office
- OSD: new peacekeeping office; DSAD
- Joint Staff: new UN Division; expanded from 1 to 7 officers

Legislation: Changes to ease some of the legal hurdles and inefficiencies impeding support of UN operations

- UN Participation Act of 1945 limits US participation to 1000 personnel in Chapter VI operations
 - Cross servicing agreements with the UN and regional organizations

Training: Establishing a peacekeeping training program

- Would include appropriate training for appropriate US forces
- Warfighting remains the primary mission of US forces

working with Congress to achieve more consistent funding support for UN Monetary Support:: Paying off our peacekeeping arrearages and peacekeeping assessments Command and Control: Placing US forces under the operational control of the UN in certain circumstances

- Post Cold War world remains dangerous place
- Ethnic and nationalist rivalries
- Regional conflicts
 - Proliferation
- . Refugees
- · Humanitarian crises
- · Cumulative impact cause for concern

Just as we have been adjusting to better support UN peacekeeping, we have been adjusting our overall views on peacekeeping and its place in US policy.

perspective on peacekeeping as evolving rather than rigid. However, Events move rapidly these days, and it is only fair to describe our we believe there is a general consensus developing on the perspective I will now review with you.

As we see it, the post-Cold War world remains a dangerous and uncertain place. While the end of the Cold War brought opportunities to end the proxy wars it spawned, it also removed the restraints it imposed on traditional ethnic and nationalist rivalries and hatreds.

Soviet Union, former Yugoslavia, and the Korean peninsula are symptomatic. Proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism, refugee and humanitarian crises are also serious concerns. While these may not equate with the Soviet nuclear and conventional threat, their cumulative impact is cause for concern.

- · US will not relinquish capacity to act unilaterally
- US must retain military capability
 - Fight and win wars
- Deter nuclear attacks
- Unilateral military force insufficient to deal with:
 Regional, eithic, civil wars
 - Retugees
- Mass starvation
 - American
- Unacceptable burden for one nation

For the foreseeable future, the US must retain its military capability relinquish our capacity to act unilaterally with decisive military force to fight and win wars and to deter nuclear attacks. We cannot in defense of our interests.

accompanied by countless refugees, mass starvation, disease, the However, unilateral military force is insufficient to address the cumulative effect of numerous regional, ethnic, and civil wars breakdown of civil order, and anarchy.

an overwhelming and prohibitive investment of resources and would To deal with these conflicts and problems unilaterally would require result in an unacceptable degradation of our primary national security capabilities.

UN peacekeeping, properly supported and competently performed

offers one means not only to deal with these problems but also to

share the costs and the burdens.

- UN can provide leverage
- Effective multilateral mechanism essential
- .— To deal with conflicts impinging on national security ... To avoid sapping US military capabilities
- Unitateral or coalition action
- When UN Involvement not possible
- Unacceptable Infringement
- Large scale Chapter VII operations

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If we are to address these problems which impinge on our national security concerns, we see effective multilateral efforts, such as UN peacekeeping, as essential to avoid sapping our capability to perform primary military security missions successfully and decisively.

agreement on UN involvement is not possible or when it would come national goals, we must remain capable of acting unilaterally. And only with unacceptable infringement on our ability to achieve vital when large-scale involvement of US troops is called for, national We recognize that UN action is not always practical. When command requirements will take precedence.

there is an effective alternative that is less costly in terms of money, Nonetheless, it would be unwise to go it alone in instances where personnel, and political cost. The UN can frequently provide this alternative

- Will support multilateral efforts when practical and in our interest to do so
- UN peacekeeping one instrument
- · Questions to answer
- Real threat to international peace and security?
- Clear objectives and can its scope be defined?
- Cease-fire in place?
- Parties to the conflict agreed to a UN presence?
 - Financial and human resources available?
- Can an end point be identified?

alliances and joint endeavors with other nations in pursuit of common One of the underlying theses of our post World War II strategy was that our strength is made even greater when cemented by strong objectives.

multilateral cooperation in the UN that had long been limited by the The end of the Cold War has opened renewed prospects for Western-Soviet rivalry. We see UN peacekeeping as a viable multilateral instrument to help address the many problems facing the world today. We will support multilateral efforts through the UN on a case-by case basis when it Is practical and in our interest to do so.

But before we decide whether or not to support a UN peacekeeping fundamental questions be asked <u>before,</u> not after, new obligations or peace enforcement resolution, we are insisting that certain are undertaken. These question's include:

- Is there a real threat to international peace and security?
- Does the proposed peacekeeping mission have clear objectives and can its scope be clearly defined?
- Is a cease-fire in place and have the parties to the conflict agreed to a UN presence?
- Are the financial and human resources that will be needed to accomplish the mission available to be used for that purpose?
- Can an end point to UN participation be identified?

It is important that we ask these hard questions so that the UN can succeed in missions we give it and to ensure it remains a viable multilateral instrument.

CONCLUSION

- · Will not retreat into Cold War foxhole
- Will not send America's men and women into harm's way without:
- Clear, achievable mission
- Competent Commanders
- Sensible Rules of Engagement
 - Means Required to Do the Job
- Will support well-conceived, well-managed, costeffective, properly supported, and justifiable UN peacekeeping operations

In summarizing I would like to stress that the United states will not retreat into a post Cold War foxhole. Nor, however, will we send American men and women in harm's way without a clear mission, competent commanders, sensible rules of engagement, and the means required to get the job done.

properly supported, and justifiable UN peacekeeping operations We will support well-conceived, well-managed, cost-effective, which have clear, achievable mandates, sensible rules of engagement, and competent commanders.

Thank you for your attention. I welcome any questions you may have or items you wish to discuss.